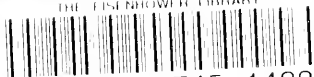


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No. 19.

# ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

*N. R. Ashmun*  
The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be ready for delivery on the last day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent.

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## STATISTICS OF SLAVE COLONIES.

MUCH important information has recently been laid before the House of Commons, in the shape of Returns from the Slave Colonies, ordered to be printed on the 9th of May 1826, and forming a volume of 760 folio pages, numbered 353. These Returns embrace a period of five years, from the 1st of January 1821, to the 31st of December 1825, and refer to a variety of particulars, such as *the marriage of slaves; the separation of families; the value of slaves; their manumission; Colonial pauperism; the general population, &c.* From six of the Colonies indeed, viz. Antigua, Bermuda, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Montserrat, and St. Lucia, there are as yet no Returns. The information that has been obtained therefore, and of which we propose to give a brief abstract, relates exclusively to the other fourteen Colonies.

### I. MARRIAGES OF SLAVES.

1. *Bahamas.* In these Islands SEVEN marriages of slaves have taken place in the five years, from 1821 to 1825 inclusive, besides eight marriages, in which one of the parties was free and the other a slave. The slave population amounts to upwards of 9000.

An Act of this Island, passed in 1824, authorizes the celebration of marriages between slaves, but not without the consent of their owner in writing, which consent he may withhold at pleasure, and without assigning a reason; and it makes such marriages valid, always saving the authority and rights of owners. (Clauses 10—13.)

2. *Barbadoes.* The slave population of this Island is about 80,000. ONE marriage took place among them in these five years, none having been celebrated before. This marriage was solemnized, in the parish of St. Lucy, by the Rev. W. Harte. The singular boldness of this clergyman, in committing such an act, deserves to be recorded, especially as we understand that it has brought upon him the censure of the Barbadian public. The incumbents of the other ten parishes have escaped the reproach he has had to encounter. *Their return is uniformly the same.*

112. "N.B." What a state of domestic purity and blessedness, does the large slave population of Barbadoes exhibit, with only one marriage in five years! The new Bishop, on landing in this island, we are told by his relation and secretary, was hailed by a chorus of sable damsels, singing these enchanting lines,

De Bishop is coming, de Bishop is coming,  
De Bishop is coming to marry we;  
De Bishop is coming to marry we all.

We will not attempt to account for the failure of these fond hopes: for even the single marriage which has been celebrated, and which is said to have excited almost as great a commotion in Barbadoes as the appearance of a Methodist missionary would have done, took place some weeks before the Bishop's first arrival there.

The President of the Island, in a letter dated March 14, 1826, tells Lord Bathurst, "that there is no law existing in Barbadoes, by which the marriage of slaves is authorized or sanctioned."

3. *Berbice*. The return from this Colony, containing 22,000 slaves, is still more summary than that from Barbadoes. NO marriage of slaves has taken place there; and the learned legists of Berbice are in doubt whether the marriage ordinance of the Colony, being "the Egt Reglement en de generaliteit of their high mightinesses of the States of Holland," has to do with slaves.

4. *Demerara*. In this Colony, containing 75,000 slaves, no marriage has taken place among them.

5. *Dominica*. This Colony contains about 15,000 slaves. NO marriage has been celebrated by any Protestant clergyman between slaves; but three have been celebrated where one of the parties was free, and the other a slave. By the Catholic Curé, however, M. Jean de Lahos, 129 marriages of slaves have been solemnized in five years.

The Dominica authorities were required to state what are the laws of that Island, "by which the marriage of slaves is authorized and sanctioned, and their connubial rights, recognized and secured." Their return to this requisition affords a curious and edifying specimen of the reliance that is to be placed on representations proceeding from parties interested in the maintenance of slavery.

They cite, as their answer to the requisition, the following clauses of "an Act passed in 1788, for the Encouragement, Protection, and better Government of Slaves," 112.

*Clause 4.* "And be it and it is hereby enacted and ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that all owners, renters, managers, or overseers of all the slaves who may be arrived at the years of maturity, and who may be desirous of entering into a connubial state, shall encourage and exhort such slave or slaves, to receive the ceremony of marriage, as instituted under the forms of the Christian religion: and in neglect of doing so, the said owner, renter, manager, or overseer, shall be subject to a fine of five pounds."

*Clause 22.* "And be it, and it is hereby further enacted and ordained, by the authority aforesaid, That any white person, or free person of colour whatever, who shall take away and cohabit with, the wife or

wives of any of the slaves of this Island, shall, on conviction thereof before any three or more magistrates, be subject to a fine not exceeding the sum of fifty pounds." (£25 sterling.)

This is one of the most unblushing attempts we have ever witnessed to impose on the people and Parliament of Great Britain. This Act, passed in 1788, was repealed in 1821, and has therefore now no operation whatever. Nor in the Act which was then substituted for it, nor in any subsequent Act have those clauses been renewed, which are now brought forward for no other purpose that we can discover, but to blind the eyes of the Parliament and people of England. An Act passed in 1818, it is true, permits *Curates*, meaning we presume, the Catholic Curés, to solemnize the marriages of slaves, receiving a fee of one pound for each; but as for the above cited clauses, they have no existence.

The Dominica Assembly has long signalized itself by a sort of legislative dexterity. In 1788, it outdid all the other Assemblies, in their pretended measures of reform; witness the above clauses. But in 1804, sixteen years after, when Lord Camden required General Prevost the Governor of Dominica, to inform him, what had been done in consequence of the 4th and some other clauses of the meliorating act of 1788, the honest soldier bluntly answered, that the clauses had not been carried into effect. Not one slave had been married; not one penalty had been enforced; and the Act itself "appears," he tells us, "to have been considered, from the day it was passed until this hour, as a *political measure* to avert the interference of the mother country in the management of slaves."

But though the above provisions were to all intents and purposes a dead letter, it was thought unsafe to retain them. Accordingly in 1821, a new slave Act was passed, expressly to *amend* the former, in which not only were these and several other fair sounding clauses omitted without any other being substituted, but at the very close of the new Act, a brief and summary clause is introduced, (the 35th) entirely repealing the Act of 1788. And yet, when the House of Commons in 1826, calls for "a copy of any law, by which the marriage of slaves is authorized and sanctioned, and their connubial rights secured," the Dominica authorities have the hardihood, we will not say the disingenuousness to produce as such law, the clauses of an act which a subsequent act of their own had totally repealed; thus taking credit for provisions, which, while they existed, were a dead letter; and which they themselves had deliberately abrogated and annulled five years before.

6. *Grenada*. This Island contains 25,000 slaves. In the several parishes into which it is divided, FOURTEEN marriages of slaves have taken place within the five years. One of the incumbents, the Rev. W. Nash, in reporting that not one marriage had taken place in *his* parish, subjoins some remarks of an exculpatory kind, which will be found to have an important general bearing. He praises two planters, who were solicitous to introduce something like religious instruction among their slaves; and he says, that if such plans were generally pursued, he should have happy presentiments of success, *provided* he

could prevail on the proprietors to attend to certain suggestions of his, such as "That every *convenient* attention be shown to the *temporal* welfare of the negroes. On this the success of the rest" (meaning the efforts made for their spiritual benefit) "will mainly depend. The negroes, dull as their understandings are, have sagacity sufficient to connect moral causes with physical effects. They will say, 'if our masters are really so desirous of promoting our happiness in the other world, why do they not give us an earnest of it, by attending to our comfort in this?' I trust they will do so, while they are sowing the 'good seed' for a future harvest. And although experience forbids me to be very sanguine in my expectations, yet I will believe that some of the seed will grow, and that there will be a harvest. At least if good principles fail to produce good practice, it must be allowed that without good principles good practice cannot be expected. At all events, this acquisition will arise from it, the adversaries of the system will be obliged to desist, or to recede to their citadel the abstract question."

What are we to conclude from this last remark? Is it not that Mr. Nash does not view with perfectly friendly eyes the adversaries of this system? If so, his concessions are the more to be valued.

The Grenada Slave Act of 1825, allows (see Clause 5) slaves to intermarry, provided the owner gives consent, and provided (a most unnecessary provision,) the Clergyman, Priest or other legally authorized person, shall consider such slaves to have a competent knowledge of the marriage vow.

7. *Honduras*. In this Colony there has been only one intermarriage of slaves; and three between slaves and free persons. There is no law authorizing marriage.

8. *Jamaica*. In this Island, the Duke of Manchester states, in his letter of the 4th of March, 1826, that he is "not aware of any law by which the marriage of slaves is authorized or sanctioned."

The following are the marriages of slaves, (marriages unauthorized and unsanctioned, and therefore unprotected, by law) which took place in the different parishes of this Island, during the years 1821—1825 inclusive, the slave population being about 330,000.

	Slave population.	Marriages of Slaves.
Manchester, <i>&amp;c</i>	18000	191
Port Royal,	7000	24
St. Dorothy's,	5000	4
Hanover,	23000	4
St. Thomas in the Vale,	12000	16
St. Andrew's,	16000	no return.
Trelawney,	27000	5
Vere,	8000	1
Clarendon,	18000	2
St. Mary's,	26000	141
St. John's,	7000	3
St. George's,	13000	104
St. David's,	8000	101

Westmoreland,	22000	.	.	2
St. Elizabeth's,	19000	.	.	2
St. James's,	25000	.	.	89
St. Thomas in the East,	25000	.	.	1085
St. Ann's,	25000	.	.	5
St. Catherine's,	8000	.	.	56
Portland,	8000	.	.	57
Kingston,	7000	.	.	601

Some curious circumstances are to be remarked with respect to this list of marriages.

In the first place, except in one instance, (that of Manchester) marriage prevails chiefly where the Methodist preachers have obtained a footing. In Kingston, and St. Thomas in the East, Methodist missions have been established for many years, and there marriages are frequent. In St. Mary's, St. George's, St. David's, St. James's, St. Catherine's, and Portland, where the Methodist missionaries have recently made inroads, marriages are becoming less infrequent. In eleven other parishes, containing 173,000 slaves, there were only 68 marriages in five years, or about 13 in each year. And here it appears to us of the utmost importance to remark, that in the various parishes of this Island, which are pre-eminently distinguished by the paucity of marriages; as Vere, in which only ONE marriage has taken place in *five* years; Clarendon, where two marriages have taken place in five years; St. John's where, in five years, three marriages have been solemnized, and only one marriage had ever taken place before; Westmoreland, where only two marriages have taken place in five years; St. Dorothy's, where only four marriages have taken place in five years; Hanover, where the same number of marriages has been solemnized; Trelawney, where there have been only five marriages; St. Elizabeth, where only two marriages have occurred; and St. Ann's, where there have been only five marriages in five years;—it is most important, we say, to remark, that in these various parishes, not a few of the most influential West Indian Proprietors, filling seats in both Houses of Parliament, who profess their cordial attachment to measures of Reform, and prefer strong claims to the public confidence and respect, possess large plantations, crowded with slaves. We earnestly entreat their attention to the facts now brought before them, and of which they may not have been previously aware, in the hope that they may apply a remedy to the evil.

We now discover that 184, of the 187 marriages, which Mr. Bridges boasted of having solemnized in the parish of Manchester, but which in fact prove to have been only 140, were all celebrated by him, at one time, in or about the month of February, 1823, just as he must have received Mr. Wilberforce's Appeal, and, to furnish a reply to whom, he found that he must have a batch of marriages got up. In the parish of St. Ann's, of which Mr. Bridges is now the incumbent, only five marriages have taken place in five years, though the population is 25,000.

9. *Nevis*. In a population of 9,500 slaves, FIVE marriages have taken place between slaves, and three where one party was a slave and the

other free. There is in this Island no law authorizing or sanctioning marriage.

10. *St. Christopher's*. In this Island there is no law authorizing marriage. The slave population amounts to nearly 20,000. EIGHTEEN marriages have taken place among them in five years.

11. *St. Vincent's*. The slave population amounts to 24,000. FOUR marriages have taken place among them in five years. Until the year 1820, a law existed in this Island, actually prohibiting the marriage of a slave with a free person, under a penalty on the officiating clergyman of £50. and on the free person of £200. or slavery for four years. This strange and whimsical enactment, marking the hostility of the St. Vincent's legislators to all but illicit connections, was superseded by their Act of 1820; but it was not till December 1825, that the marriage of slaves received any legislative recognition. It was then authorized, but under grievous restrictions. The marriage can only be solemnized by a *Clergyman of the established Church*, and he must be satisfied that the parties understand the marriage-vow. What nation is there so savage on the face of the earth, the English Slave Colonies excepted, where the population does not understand the nature of the marriage engagement? This is a proof of the same ill-concealed hostility to marriage, which formerly reduced to slavery a freeman who married a slave.

The clergyman of St. Vincent's, Mr. Lansdown Gilding, apologizes for the small number of marriages on the ground of his previous want of authority to perform the ceremony. He complains too of interlopers. It seems a grievous offence in his eyes, that "vast numbers of slaves have been *clandestinely* married by Methodist preachers," and have not yet applied to him to be remarried. It would appear as if he actually regarded the Methodist preachers as offenders, because they had exerted themselves to check, among their converts, the prevailing habits of licentiousness, by inducing them to form permanent connections under the imposing sanction of a religious ceremony. So far from meriting blame, they deserve for this the highest commendation; and the St. Vincent's legislature owe it to the moral interests of their island to legalize these marriages, instead of leaving them to be thrown into doubt, by permitting Mr. Gilding to require the parties to be remarried by him before they are to be considered as man and wife.

12. *Tobago*. There is no law authorizing the marriage of slaves in this Island, and, in point of fact, no such marriage has ever taken place there. Its slave population amounts to about 14,000.

13. *Tortola*. The return from this island is to precisely the same effect with that from Tobago.

14. *Trinidad*. The slave population of this island amounts to 23,000. The Order in Council of 1824 legalized the marriage of slaves; but the fruit of that order has hitherto been very small. ELEVEN marriages have followed it, there having been only one previously. Of these eleven marriages, nine have been celebrated by the Methodist Missionary, two by the Catholic Cure, and not one by the Church of England clergyman.

Is it necessary to add a word to this striking exemplification of the state of West Indian society and West Indian morals? Is there in the known world any thing to be compared to the profligacy of manners



which it discloses? Nor is the absence of right feeling which these statements evince, notwithstanding the discussions of forty years' duration by which the Colonists have been compelled to consider the question, more remarkable than the absolute indifference they manifest to the benefits connected with an increase of the slave population. "It is the interest of the Planters," we are told, "to treat their slaves well, and therefore they do treat them well." Such is the reasoning by which the people of England are deluded. Is it not then the *interest* of the Planters that their slaves should increase? If it be, is not marriage essential to that object? But, what has their all-powerful sense of interest, to which so much is attributed, done to promote marriage among their slaves? With what extreme reluctance do they even now consent to enactments for that purpose, and what a multiplicity of restrictions do they impose upon it? What can more clearly shew the light in which the whites view the negro race, than this extraordinary, nay almost morbid repugnance to raise them from the debasement of a sexual intercourse resembling that of brutes, (notwithstanding the depopulation produced by it,) to the enjoyment of the charities of domestic life? And does not this very fact solve to us much of the mystery which would otherwise hang over the whole of the Slavery question; while it proves the absolute hopelessness of any *effectual* reform proceeding from the Colonial authorities? Among the White community of the West Indies; and, we admit, it would be precisely the same with any community, placed in the same unfortunate circumstances with theirs; there exists an invincible dislike of every measure which goes to lessen the moral and intellectual distance between themselves and the dependent negro, ~~or~~ to produce an approximation in their social, civil, or political rights. This state of feeling is curiously illustrated in almost every page of the writings of that most zealous of all the advocates of the Slave System, Major Moody; and with his usual inverted mode of reasoning, he employs it to shew, not that Parliament should interfere to correct the evil, but that the negroes are doomed to remain for ever an inferior and degraded caste; in short to be for ever slaves. The prejudice he assumes to be invincible and its cure hopeless, so long as their colour and their smell are unchanged. And is not the very existence of this prejudice an unanswerable argument against entrusting to the men who entertain it, the reform of their own negro code? We do not deny that the Colonists would be content to admit of many ameliorations in the treatment of the slave, of a kind similar to those which might take place in the treatment of their cattle. But from every measure which would tend to raise him in the scale of being to their own level; which would give him equal legal rights; which would confer on him a social and civil as well as a merely animal existence; which would make him a participator in their intellectual pursuits, and in their deathless hopes, they shrink (and in this view of the subject the report of Major Moody bears us out) with a kind of instinctive abhorrence, with a sensitiveness similar to that with which the inhabitant of the lordly mansion shrinks from intercommunion with wretchedness and rags, with filth and beggary. We here speak not of a few enlightened and humane proprietors,

but of the mass of Colonial residents.—But it may be said, “if you admit that the mass of the Colonists are actuated, in these feelings, just as all other men would be actuated (who at least are not influenced by Christian principle, and do not feel that the soul of a negro is as valuable as the soul of a white,) why load the Colonists with reproach and obloquy on that account? The censure ought to fall not on the Colonists but on the circumstances in which they are unhappily placed.”

—In reply, we will go still farther than the objector and say, that the Colonists are not half so much to blame, in the conduct they pursue towards the negro race, as the legislature of Great Britain is, who refuse to interfere to prevent by their irresistible fiat, what is, and without its interference ever must be, the natural and almost necessary result of the relative circumstances of the master and slave;—who vainly expect that, in such circumstances, the former should discharge with fidelity and impartiality the high legislative functions assigned to him;—who in short, confide the destinies of the slaves to those who, in the emphatic language of Mr. Canning “cannot execute that trust fairly;” “Whose laws can never reach, can never cure the evil;” there being something, as the same great statesman has well remarked, “*in the very nature of absolute authority, in the relation between master and slave, which makes despotism, in ALL cases and under ALL circumstances, an incompetent and unsure executor even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power.*”

## II. SEPARATION OF FAMILIES.

1. *Bahama*. The Slave Act of this island, passed in 1824, (clause 6) forbids the separation, by sale of any kind whether private or judicial, or by bequest, of husband and wife, or reputed husband and wife, and their children under fourteen years of age, provided they belong to the same owners. No means are given of tracing whether, in the exportations which have taken place to other Colonies, or in the sales by the Marshal of slaves seized in execution, this law has been faithfully observed.

2. *Barbadoes*. It is not stated whether there be in Barbadoes any law to prevent the separation of families. It is clear however, that there is not.

In these papers is contained a Return of forty-four persons escheated to the Crown, in this Island, from 1821 to 1825 inclusive, which discloses some curious particulars.

A negro of the name of John Thomas Atherley, had purchased his own freedom, and had also succeeded in redeeming his wife and four children from Slavery, by the fruits of his own industry; when he died. Though he had been able to pay their owner the price of their manumission, he had not been able, before his death, to pay the enormous tax, which, in Barbadoes, was imposed on manumissions; and he had omitted to make a will. His wife and children, therefore, were regarded as his own slaves, and as such, he having no legal heirs, were escheated to the Crown. And they would infallibly have been sold for the benefit of the Crown, but for the interposition of a benevolent individual, who made such representations, on the subject, to his Majesty's Government at home, as produced, at first, a suspension of their sale, and afterwards,

their entire liberation. These poor creatures, however, after all their fears and sufferings, were made to pay the heavy expenses attending the cession of their liberty, as well as *the finding of his Majesty's title* to them. Is it possible to conceive a more cruel case than this would have been, under the operation of the laws of Barbadoes, but for the intervention of the Government?—There occurs one other case of manumission by an order of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury; and in the case of eighteen more, their fate is suspended till his Majesty's pleasure shall be taken. Surely it cannot be a matter of doubt, what that pleasure will be.—All, however, of these escheats have not been so fortunate as to have their case made known to the Government; and the following statement of the sales of individuals, *for the benefit of his Majesty*, will be read with pain and disgust by every loyal mind.

On the 7th of August, 1823, nineteen individuals became escheats of the Crown; and in eleven days from that time, namely, on the 18th of August, 1823, they were all sold by public auction, with the exception of two who effected their escape, and the net proceeds of their sale were paid into the Treasury of Great Britain. The transaction, bad enough in itself, will be in no small degree aggravated, when we consider all the circumstances of it, and especially the cruel separation of families which was sanctioned by the agents of the Crown. The following are the particulars of this opprobrious sale, as they are given under the official signature of "Lionel Parke, Receiver General of his Majesty's Casual Revenue."

1. Quow, aged 55, father of Cæsar, sold to Thomas Louis, for £45.
  2. Cæsar, aged 27, son of Quow, to Samuel Henery, for £90.
  3. Orange, aged 67, mother of October, to B. T. Young, for £5.
  4. October, aged 44, son of Orange, to C. Crouch, for £46.
  5. Abel, aged 49, husband of Lubbah, and father of Thomas, Kitty, and Becky, sold to Henry Tudor, for £32. 10s.
  6. Lubbah, aged 40, wife of Abel, and mother of his children, sold also to Henry Tudor, for £38. She appears to have been put up separately, and Mr. Tudor appears to have bid high in order to obtain her.
  7. Thomas, aged 16, son of Abel and Lubbah, sold to H. Mozely, for £51.
  8. Kitty, aged 13, daughter of Abel and Lubbah, to Joshua Levi, for £46. 10s.
  9. Becky, aged 6, daughter of Abel and Lubbah, to Mr. Alsup, for £28.
- Again, Deborah, Sukey, Betsey, Polly, and Thomas, are brothers and sisters. Sukey has one child, Betsey three, and Polly one. They are thus disposed of,
10. Deborah, aged 28, is sold to W. Straker, for £15.
  11. Sukey, aged 26, mother of Jas. William, { are sold, in one lot,
  12. James William, aged 1½, son of Sukey, { to Thomas Howell,
  13. Betsey, aged 34, mother of Caroline, Grace, and Medorah, { for £51.
  14. Caroline, aged 4, daughter of Betsey, { are sold, in one lot,
  15. Grace, aged 2½, daughter of Betsey, { to James Lealted,
  16. Medorah, aged 9, daughter of Betsey, is sold to William Austin, { for £50.
- for £51. 10s.

17. Thomas, aged 15, brother of Deborah, Sukey, &c. is sold to John Straker, for £52. 10s.

The fate of the remaining two is the only part of the detail which is at all satisfactory.

18. Polly, aged 39, mother of Richard, . . . } absconded, and can-

19. Richard, aged 11, son of Polly, . . . } not be found.

The price at which these persons were sold is stated in Barbadoes currency, and amounts to £602, or about £401 sterling. How much of this money, after passing through the hands of Escheators, Receivers, Marshals, Counsel, Attorneys, &c. came into the Royal Treasury of Great Britain, we should be curious to know. It is the price of blood, and we trust will not rest there without inquisition. What is it but a Slave Trade, more disgraceful than even that of Africa, by which the King of Great Britain has been made to enrich himself, at the rate of £10. or £15. a head, if so much, by the sale, into perpetual Slavery, of seventeen of his liege subjects, whose dearest ties have been burst asunder by the process?

3. *Berbice*. There is no law prohibiting the separation of families; but it is asserted to be the universal usage not to separate them, especially in Marshal's sales.

4. *Demerara*. The same return.

5. *Dominica*. There is a clause (the 64th,) in an Act of May 5th, 1803, which directs the Marshal to put up and sell slaves, one by one, except where a child under the age of fifteen years is to be sold, which shall be sold with the mother of such child, *if* there be a mother to be sold.

6. *Grenada*. A clause (the 50th,) in the Act of 1825, forbids the Marshal, but without attaching any penalty to his disobedience, to sell, in execution, any married slave, or any unmarried female slave, having a child under twelve, belonging to the same owner, unless they shall be sold to the same person, and if sold separate; the sale shall be null and void. This enactment excludes *reputed* husbands and wives, though having large families, from the benefits of its exemption; and considering that scarcely any marriages of slaves have taken place in Grenada, this does in fact exclude the whole slave population from those benefits. Besides, the exemption is wholly confined to sales in execution, and leaves private sales to proceed according to the caprice of the owner.

7. *Honduras*. No law exists rendering the separation of husband and wife, parents or children unlawful, but custom is said to prohibit the separation of mothers from children under the age of maturity.

8. *Jamaica*. "I am not aware," says the Duke of Manchester, "of any law by which the separation of husband and wife, or of parents and children, by sale or otherwise, is rendered unlawful." Accordingly, innumerable instances occur of such separations.

9. *Nevis*, . . . } There appears to be no law in these

10. *St. Christopher's*, } Islands prohibiting the separation of fa-

11. *Tortola*, . . . } milies.

12. *Tobago*. It is prohibited to sell children under fourteen years of age apart from their mothers.

13. *St. Vincent's*. There appears no law of this Island on the subject

14. *Trinidad*. The Order in Council prohibits the separation of families only by judicial sale, leaving it to the caprice of the individual to regulate his private sales.

In concluding this head, let us again carefully note the spirit of Colonial legislation, as exemplified, not only in the brutality of the sexual intercourse which has so long been preferred to the marriage tie, but in the reckless indifference with which, in the case of the negro, that legislation has left every tie to be burst asunder, and has assimilated human beings, born in the image of God, and possessing natural affections as ardent as our own, as mere chattels, to the beasts that perish.

### III. PAUPERISM.

1. *Bahamas*. The only establishment in the Bahamas, for the relief of the poor, appears to be an hospital or poorhouse. The expense attending it amounts to from £1,400, to £1,600 a year, but the items of the expenditure are not given, and it is to be presumed, that the greatest part of it consists in salaries to the superintendants and servants of the establishment; because an equal sum appears to be spent in 1825, when there were only ten patients in the hospital, and in 1823, when there were forty-eight. The number passing through the hospital in five years amounted to 141, *viz.*—Seventy-four free blacks and coloured persons, and sixty-five whites; being, on the average, fifteen free persons and thirteen whites. The number of free blacks and persons of colour is about 2400, of whites about half that number.

2. *Barbadoes*. The following is the average annual number of paupers, supported in nine different parishes of this island, as given in the Returns from 1824 to 1821, inclusive, the Returns from St. James and St. Philip being wholly omitted, *viz.*

St. Lucy,	63.	St. Peter,	96.
St. Thomas,	77.	St. Joseph,	18.
St. John,	65.	Christ Church,	130.
St. Andrew,	86.	St. Michael's,	401.
St. George,	62.		

In all 998 paupers, all of whom, with a single exception, are white. The parish returns in general express that there are *no free blacks or coloured persons who receive relief*. The parish of St. Michael is the only exception, and there, *relief* is afforded to ONE woman of colour. From one parish, St. Peter's, the return is that "there are no free coloured paupers;" from another, St. Joseph's, "that no instance of a free black or coloured person being relieved by the parish," has occurred. The return from Christ Church, states that, "at any time that free coloured persons require relief, it is granted from the parish;" but no instance is recorded of its having been required or granted. In one parish, indeed, St. George's, an endeavour is made to represent the annuity paid, by law, as interest on the sums exacted as a tax on manumissions, in the light of parish relief; and thirty-six free black and coloured persons are named, who *thus* receive relief. But this is nothing more than a clumsy attempt at imposition. the sums paid annually by the

paid in these cases being neither more nor less than the *life annuity*, contracted to be given in consideration of the heavy imposts exacted for manumissions, viz. 8 per cent. (being £4 per annum,) when the tax was £50, or 6 per cent. (being £12 and £18 per annum,) when the tax reached the enormous sum of £200 and £300.—Nothing can more forcibly shew that the object of the Barbadoes legislature was to discourage and retard manumissions than the facts now before us. Not a free black or coloured pauper, with one solitary exception, is to be found in the whole Island of Barbadoes. The pretence, therefore, for this tax, that it was to save the island from the pressure of the pauperism, with which the insuperable indolence and profligacy of the enfranchised negro, on his deliverance from slavery and its cart-whip, must soon overspread the Island, was a pretence wholly unfounded, and which must have been known by those who employed it to be so. Nay, so far was this plan from being burdensome to the Island, that, calculating the average length of human life, it must have been a gainer by these payments, a most inadequate annuity being given in return. And yet, how remarkable is it that, with the exception of this annuity, an annuity which lasts only during the life of the first payee of it, and does not extend to his offspring who might be considered as more likely to need it, there is, at this moment, in the whole Island, but one solitary free black or person of colour, who is a burden on the colonial funds for the relief of the poor; while the number of white paupers (taking the two omitted parishes at fifty each) amounts to 1098. We wish that Major Moody would exert all the acuteness of his philosophy to reconcile this phenomenon with his theory of the indispensable necessity of slavery and its cartwhip, to the comfort and improvement of the African race in the low lands of tropical climates. Barbadoes is a tropical climate, and its land is low, and, what is still more to the point, its population is dense; and yet its free black and coloured inhabitants, amounting to at least 4000 or 5000, maintain themselves by their own exertions, and are even growing in wealth and civilization, though placed under circumstances of extreme political and civil degradation. They pay, too, their fair share of the burdens of the state; and they do not in any way add to those burdens.—A fact well authenticated is worth a thousand arguments. Here then is a fact, be it *physi*cal or be it *moral*, (we leave it to the logical skill of Major Moody to settle the point,) which frowns fearfully in the face of his theory. It will be an effort worthy of his ingenuity to twist from it an inference which will prop up, even for a brief space, his system of the philosophy of labour; a system, indeed, which is already falling by its own native weight and tortuous construction, before one serious attack has as yet been made upon it.

It has been found exceedingly difficult to obtain an accurate return, from all the parishes of Barbadoes, of the white and the free black and coloured population, but the probable estimate of these classes seems to be about 14,500 whites, and 4,500 free black and coloured persons.

3. *Barbadoes.* The white population of this Colony appears to amount to about 600, the free black and coloured to 900. The funds for the relief of the poor arise, in great part, from taxes on manumission. In 1822

the expenditure appears to have been as follows : for seventeen white persons, guilders 4,139. 10 ; for two free persons of colour, guilders 534. 16 ; being for the whites above £300 sterling, and for the free persons of colour under £40.

4. *Demerara*. The free black and coloured population of this Colony amounts to 4,727 ; the whites, it is supposed, to not above half that number. The number of the latter, who are pensioners on the poor fund, on the average of five years, appears to be fifty-one ; of free black and coloured persons twenty-six. Besides this, there is occasional relief given to both classes, in the proportion of about three to one ; that is to say, the white paupers receive, in this way, an aggregate amount, which is about three times as much as is paid to paupers of the other class. The accounts, however, are far from being clear and distinct ; sufficiently so, however, to shew that, while the free black and coloured population is probably double that of the whites, the portion of relief they receive does not amount to more than one half—although in those five years the poor fund derived, from that most unjust and oppressive tax, a tax on manumissions, no less than 20,400 guilders, or nearly £1,500 sterling.

5. *Dominica*. The white population of Dominica is estimated at about 900 ; the free black and coloured population was ascertained in 1825 to amount to 3122. During the five years, ending in Nov. 1825, thirty of the former class had received relief from the poor fund, and only ten of the latter ; the amount paid to the latter being £1110, to the former £3792 ; so that we find only one third of the number of paupers in a population of free black and coloured persons which is considerably more than three times as numerous as the whites ; thus making the proportion about one to nine.

6. *Grenada*. This Colony furnishes a still more striking exemplification of the independence of the free black and coloured population than even Dominica. They amounted in 1825 to 3486. The last census of the whites in 1820 gave their number 883, and there is reason to suppose that they may have diminished rather than increased since that time. During the five years in question, the expense of the Colony hospital, which alone appears to give relief to paupers, was about £2640 currency, or £1320 sterling, being at the average rate of £264 sterling per annum, and even this includes the salaries of officers, the treasurer having £50 sterling a year. But it does not appear that any part of this small sum was applied to the relief of free blacks or persons of colour.

7. *Honduras*. This small Colony furnishes a further striking proof of the utter groundlessness of those allegations, which are sounded, from mouth to mouth, throughout the whole Colonial party with Major Moody at their head. The white population of Honduras is returned, in 1824, as amounting only to 150, the free black and coloured population, to 1750, (see letter of Capt. M'Lean, House of Commons papers, 18th of June, 1824, No. 439) being about twelve times as numerous as the whites. The return of the Treasurer of the Colony is, that "there are no funds raised in Honduras, for the support of the poor, there being so very few persons who are literally

in distress from poverty ; but such as are so, are readily relieved by the Magistrates, and monies allowed them from the public funds of the settlement." The number of free persons thus relieved, has varied in five years, from 6 to 8, eight being the largest number, at an expense of about £100 sterling annually. There appear to have been only two white paupers in the Colony, with the exception of the Poyais emigrants, for whom, a sum of about £4000 currency was disbursed from the public treasury.

8. *Jamaica*. This Island is supposed to contain about 20,000 whites, and about double that number of free black and coloured persons. The return of paupers from eighteen of its parishes (those of Kingston, St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. Dorothy's being omitted,) exhibit the average number of white paupers to be 295, of black and coloured paupers 148 ; the proportion of white paupers to those of the other class, according to the whole population of each, being as four to one. The payments made to the whites are also very considerably larger in amount, in proportion to the number relieved, than those made to the black coloured paupers.

9. *Nevis*. The white population of this Colony is estimated at about 800, the free black and coloured population at about 1800. The number of white paupers receiving relief is stated to be 25, that of the other class 2 ; being in the proportion to that of the whites of one to twenty eight.

10. *St. Christopher's*. We have no means of ascertaining the white, and the free coloured population of this Island. The average number of white paupers appears to be 115, of black and coloured paupers, 14, although there is no doubt that the population of the latter class, greatly outnumbers that of the former.

11. *St. Vincent's*. The white population of this Island is stated, in 1825, to be 1301 ; the free black and coloured population 2824. "*We have never had,*" says Sir C. Brisbane, the Governor, "*any poor's rate or other taxes levied for the support of the poor. The few paupers (ALWAYS WHITE) who occasionally resort hither, are generally supported from the town funds.*"

12. *Tobago*. Neither the white, nor the free black and coloured population of this Island is given. But the point is of small importance, as the Governor, Sir F. P. Robinson, informs Lord Bathurst, that "there is no fund for assisting paupers in this Colony, except that of the Church," (which does not amount to sixty dollars per annum) "and the reason is, that there are no other poor people who require that kind of relief."

13. *Tortola*. In 1825, the free black and coloured population amounted to 607. The whites are estimated at about 300. The number of white paupers relieved appears, to be 29 ; of black and coloured, 4 ; being in the proportion of fourteen to one.

14. *Trinidad*. The white population of this Island is about 3500 ; that of free black and coloured persons amounts to about 15,000. The Treasurer of the Island reports, that no funds have been raised in this Colony for the support of the poor.

In short, in a population of free blacks and people of colour, amount-



ing to from 80,000 to 90,000, only 229 persons have received any relief however small, as paupers, being about one in each 370 persons, exhibiting altogether an example of ease and independence, not to be paralleled in any other part of the British Dominions, or among any other class of his Majesty's subjects. And yet what says that veracious writer the Rev. Mr. Bridges, on this subject? "The free negro and coloured population of these colonies are a slothful race, living without labour or means;" they "merit your commiseration, and should elicit your sympathy." "In age or incapacity they are exposed" "without resource to all the want and misery, which close a life of unrestrained indolence, apathy, and vice."

#### IV. MANUMISSIONS.

In the five years from 1821 to 1825 inclusive, the following manumissions have taken place, viz.—

1. In the *Bahamas*, there have been 176 manumissions:—there is here no tax payable upon them.

2. In *Barbadoes*, 408 manumissions have taken place; on seventy two of which a tax of £50 was paid, and on 336 of which no tax was paid, the parties having evaded it by being manumitted in England at an expense of about seven pounds; a conveyance of them to a person in England having been previously executed by their owners, for the express purpose of their being manumitted. The fee for those on whom the tax has been paid is 30s.; on the others, 37s. 6d. Those for whom the tax has been paid, are entitled to an annuity of 8 per cent, or £4. per annum for life; the others to nothing.

3. In *Berbice*, the manumissions have been only 49, for which taxes have been paid to the extent of 17,500 guilders, or £1250 sterling, besides a fee on each of 186 guilders, or £13. 5s. sterling, being altogether a tax of about £39. 5s. on each manumission.

4. In *Demerara*, the manumissions have been 142, the taxes on which have amounted to 20,396 guilders, or £1457 sterling, being at the rate of £11 sterling on each, besides the fees, which are large.

5. In *Dominica*, the manumissions have amounted to 156, on which a tax has been paid of £2904 currency, besides fees amounting to £202. 10s. in all £3106. 10s. currency, or £1553. 5s. sterling, being at the rate of about £10. sterling each.

6. In *Grenada*, the manumissions have been 407, a fee being paid on each of £3. 16s. and no tax.

8. In *Honduras*, 141 manumissions have taken place, the charge on each being a fine of two dollars and a half, and no tax besides. One man pays £250 for his freedom, another £300, another, £225. The father of three children buys them for £280. A man continuing a slave himself, buys his wife for £100; another buys his son for the same sum: several women buy themselves at the rate of £100, and one pays for herself £200.

8. In *Jamaica*, the record of manumissions is so confused, that it is difficult to ascertain the precise number. In many cases the particulars of wills are given directing certain sums to be paid for manumissions, but without specifying whether the provisions of these wills

have been carried into effect. It is therefore a matter of doubt, what the number of manumissions in this Island during the five years in question, actually has been. There is also great irregularity in the dates of the manumissions, many of them bearing that of almost every year from 1805 to 1820, and some even so distant a date as 1796. In short, no account could be more ingeniously contrived to render all correct inference from it absolutely impossible. The number in the five years may be 1500, or it may be 2900. A few curious facts may, nevertheless, be collected from it. One noble lord sells Charlotte and her six children for £700. Another noble lord sells Sarah for £180.; Mary Ann, for £150.; and Eleanor and her child, for £100. A wealthy baronet sells a woman and her four children for £315.; a man, for £200.; four women, for £335.; and two women, for £330. Another baronet, a member of parliament, sells a mother and her daughter for £280.; a mother and two children, for £420.; a mother and four children, for £360.; and a mother and two children, for £185. One proprietor sells two women and a child for £100.; and a woman, for £140. Another, a member of parliament, sells two Elizabeths, one for £100., the other for £150., and John for £140. Another member of parliament sells Elizabeth Guy, for a "new slave," value £115. If the word "new slave," is to be understood in its ordinary acceptation, it seems fit that the Attorney-General should enquire where such a contraband article was obtained.

Now, it is obvious, that in all these cases the vendors of the manumitted slaves, who are, probably for the most part, the mulatto concubines and children of white men, take advantage of the state of the law, to exact from their keeper or parent, a far higher price than the fair market value of the persons sold. It is plain that but for this, £280 never could have been obtained for a mother and her daughter, or £420 for a mother and her two daughters. And this will more clearly appear, when we come, under the next head, to see what is the fair average value of slaves, when brought into the market, and sold at the market price. The persons disposed of at these enormous rates, if sold by auction, or fairly appraised, would not have brought to their vendors, (we will not suppose the owners to be cognizant of the matter,) above one third of the money that has been exacted for them. And it might be shewn from this very Return, that the same course is pursued, not only where passion or affection may be effectually wrought upon to submit to such exorbitant demands, but where the earnest desire of the hard working slave, to effect his emancipation, enables the master to exact for his freedom double or treble the sum he could procure for him by appraisement. On this principle, we find many male slaves paying for themselves £140, £200, and even £250; and female slaves paying like prices, and one even as much as £300 for liberty. Now if Lord Bathurst's plan of compelling manumissions to be executed at a fair appraisement were to be adopted, such cruel exactions would be no longer possible; and hence, we may presume, in part arises the violent opposition which has been excited to that measure, just and merciful as it is, through the West Indies. We are confirmed in this view of the subject by a letter which

appeared in a late Jamaica newspaper, addressed to its Editor, by Mr. Grossett, the Member of Parliament, in which, while he recommends a prudent compliance with some of the propositions of Government, he condemns this particular provision as big with ruin to the owners of slaves; although Lord Bathurst most truly represents it as altogether indispensable to the hope of advancing a single step towards the ultimate extinction of Slavery.

9. In *Nevis* fifty-seven manumissions have taken place.

10. In *St. Christopher's* the number of manumissions furnished by John Tyson, the Registrar of Deeds, as occurring from 1821 to 1825, is 262. But there is an additional Return from the Registrar of Slaves, W. Thomson, of 513 manumissions between 1817 and 1825, which are not recorded by the Registrar of Deeds, making together 775. The remark of the Governor upon the subject is to this effect. "As the entering of each manumission in the office of the Registrar of *Deeds* is necessary to the legality of the proceeding, many more persons are actually manumitted than appears on the face of the return forwarded from that office; and I therefore enclose a Return of manumissions as furnished by the Registrar of *Slaves*, by which it will appear that near double the number of slaves have been actually manumitted that are not considered so in the eye of the law." This, however, is a great grievance, and some remedy should be forthwith applied to it, otherwise these 513 manumitted persons, may, hereafter, from the want of some required formality, be reduced again to their former cruel bondage. And the omission of this formality is the more remarkable, as the fee attending it does not appear to exceed 22s. 6d. currency, or 11s. sterling. In this island also we find individual slaves forced to pay £100. £150. £200. and even £300. for their redemption, while the average rate at sales is only £48. 5s. There is now no tax in this island on manumissions.

11. In *St. Vincent's* the manumissions amount to 389. The fee on manumission is £8. There is no tax.

12. In *Tobago* the Return extends only from the 1st January to the 19th November, 1825, omitting the preceding four years for which a Return was demanded. The manumissions are only fifteen in number. There is neither tax nor fee in this Island.

13. In *Tortola* there have been 101 slaves manumitted at a cost for fees of 39s. each, of whom at least eighty appear to have been redeemed by themselves or their parents.

14. In *Trinidad* 611 manumissions have taken place, about half of which appear to have been effected by themselves, or by their parents, at prices varying from £25. to £375. currency. The fee on each manumission is £1. sterling, and is paid by the Treasury of the Island. There is no tax.

## V. VALUE OF SLAVES.

The volume before us contains, among other points of information, a return of the number of slaves taken and sold in execution for debt, or levied upon and sold for taxes, from the 1st January, 1821, to the 31st December, 1825, specifying age, sex, and price, and the names of vendors and purchasers. The inferences to be drawn from these details will be found to be important.

1. *Bahamas*. The slaves sold in execution in this Island amount to 67, and the gross proceeds of their sale to £2867. 10s. currency, being at the rate of £42. 16s. or at the exchange of 200, £21. 8s. sterling.

2. *Barbadoes*. The sales in execution in this Island consist of 1316 slaves, and the proceeds of their sale amount to £53,188. 10s. 3d. currency, being at the average rate for each of £40. 8s. 4d. currency, or at the exchange of 150, £27. sterling. Of the above 1316 slaves, only the *life* estate of ninety-one was sold. These, who, of course, were all females, brought £1697. 10s., or £18. 12s. 3d. each, on the average. Laying these aside, the average of the remaining 1225 would rise to £42. currency, or £28. sterling. In many cases mothers and young children are sold together, and these appear to be the only cases in which regard is paid to consanguinity. In the majority of cases, the slaves, even young slaves, boys and girls, are sold singly.

3. *Berbee*: 446 slaves, sold in execution, bring 561,860 guilders, or an average of 1260 guilders for each, being £90. sterling.

4. *Demerara*: 2705 slaves, sold in execution, yield 3,254,006 guilders, being for each 1203 guilders, or about £86. sterling.

5. *Dominica*: 58 slaves, sold in execution, bring £3487. 11s. currency, being £60. 2s. 6d. or £30. 1s. 3d. sterling for each.

6. *Grenada*: 242 slaves are sold in execution for £14,889. 8s. currency, being for each £61. 12s., or £30. 16s. sterling.

7. *Honduras*. Here 151 slaves are sold in execution for £19,014. 13s. being for each £125. 10s. currency, which would make, if the rate of exchange be the same as in Jamaica, about £84. sterling; or if the same as in the Leeward Islands, £62. 15s. sterling. Individual men were sold as high as £300. £370. and even £400., and women as high as £150. £180. and £205. and one even for £360.

8. *Jamaica*. The Provost Marshal of this Island has given no Return of the sales in execution, and his reason is, that he cannot give it with all the particulars that are required. He might still have communicated as much information as he could, and at least have stated the aggregate number of slaves sold from year to year, with the gross proceeds of their sale. But even this he has withheld. The defect, however, is partly supplied from another source. A Return is given to us of the slaves levied upon and sold for taxes, in the different parishes of the Island. The general result of this return is, that the slaves so sold have amounted in five years to 550, chiefly persons in the prime of life, who have brought the gross sum of £37,630. 14s. 10d. currency; being for each slave £68. 8s. 8d., or, at the exchange of 150, (which, we believe, is the present rate of exchange) £45. 12s. 6d. sterling. When mothers and their children are levied upon together, they appear to be always sold together, but the seizures in most instances are seizures of single slaves, either male or female, many of them young, who are of course sold singly and separately.

9. *Nevis*: 47 slaves are sold in execution for £1630. sterling, or £35. each.

10. *St. Christopher's*: 376 slaves are sold in execution for £17,742. 17s. 9d. currency, being for each £48. 5s. currency, or £24. 2s. 6d. sterling.

11. *St. Vincent's*: 515 slaves are sold, many of them with the land

attached, for £28,437. currency, being not more, on the average, for each, than £33. 10s. currency, or £16. 15s. sterling; and yet this price, low as it is, may be correct, for we find in the same Island, that three adults, sold for taxes, brought only £137. currency, being £45. 13s. 4d. currency for each, or £22. 16s. 8d. sterling.

12. *Tobago*. No prices are attached to the thirty-one slaves, said to be sold in execution in this Island.

13. *Tortola*: 159 slaves are sold in execution for £5638. 18s. 4d. currency, being for each £35, or £17. 10s. sterling.

14. *Trinidad*. The number of slaves sold in execution has been 1086, but no account is given of the prices at which they were sold.

The result of the whole, as far as the materials before us go, is to exhibit the following as the average price in sterling money of slaves in the different colonies, *viz*.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1 St. Vincent's, . . .	16	15	0	7 Grenada, . . .	30	16	0
2 Tortola, . . .	17	10	0	8 Nevis, . . .	35	0	0
3 Bahamas, . . .	21	8	0	9 Jamaica, . . .	45	12	6
4 St. Christopher's, . .	24	2	6	10 Honduras, . .	84 or 62	15	0
5 Barbadoes, . . .	28	0	0	11 Demerara, . . .	86	0	0
6 Dominica, . . .	30	1	3	12 Berbice, . . .	90	0	0

Whether any part of these discrepancies are to be ascribed to some inaccuracy in the Returns; or whether in some of the Marshal's sales, as in St. Vincent's or Tortola, the prices are collusively low, it is impossible for us to say. We give the result as we find it.

The cause of the high average in Jamaica, as compared with the other islands, is obviously, in great part, owing to this, that the persons levied upon for taxes are, with few exceptions, persons in the prime of life (from thirteen to thirty-five and forty years of age), while sales in execution embrace all ages from infancy to decrepitude. The market of Jamaica is also more extensive than that of the other islands. With respect to the enormous price given for slaves on the South American continent, nearly three times their price in the islands, it can only be resolved into the superior fertility of the soil of Guiana.

There are men among us who argue that that superior fertility of soil is an advantage to the slave. On this principle it was that so many iniquitous transfers of slaves were permitted, in violation of the acts abolishing the slave trade, from the Bahamas, Dominica, &c. to Demerara. The mendacious allegation of the interested parties was, that, the slaves must starve and perish in the former, while they would enjoy abundance and prosperity in the latter; and by this deliberate misrepresentation they succeeded in imposing on His Majesty's Government, and on some even of the warmest friends of the oppressed Africans. The rapid increase of the slaves in the Bahamas and Dominica, and their equally or still more rapid decrease in Demerara, points no longer disputable, sufficiently expose the impudent and cruel imposture.

Observe also, not only the more deathful influence of rich fertile colonies as compared with poor ones on the slaves—the planter's instruments of production; but the increased facilities of manumission which they enjoy in the latter. A slave may obtain his freedom in Tortola, for

example, at about a fifth part of the price for which he could purchase it in Guiana; in Barbadoes, at one third; and in Jamaica, at one half. It is no wonder that Mr. Pickering and other Tortola planters should have so eagerly sought permission to transport their slaves from that Island; and that their slaves should have been so reluctant to quit it.

And the fact is in exact agreement with the argument. The population of Demerara and Barbadoes are nearly equal, and both colonies impose taxes on manumission; but in Barbadoes, where slaves are £28. each, 408 manumissions have been effected, in the same time in which, in Demerara, where slaves cost three times as much, only 142 manumissions have been effected.

In the Bahamas, where there is no tax, and slaves cost on the average only £21. 8s., 176 manumissions have taken place, in a population of 9500 slaves. At the same rate, the manumissions in Barbadoes and Demerara would have been about 1500, and 1400, instead of 408, and 142.

Berbice contains 22000 slaves, whose average price appears to be about £90, while a heavy tax is imposed on manumissions. The manumissions there amount to 49; while in St. Christopher's, containing 20,000 slaves, where there is no tax, and where slaves appear to average £24, the manumissions in the same time are at least ten times as numerous, and in Grenada and St. Vincent's, they are about seven times as numerous, in proportion to their population. Nay, in Grenada and in St. Vincent's, the population of each of which do not amount to a third of that of Barbadoes, the number of manumissions is nearly as great as in that Island, where a tax of £50. has been continued.

In Dominica, the effect of even an inferior tax is apparent. Its population is 15000; the manumissions 156. At the rate of Grenada and St. Vincent's, it ought to have been about 250, at that of the Bahamas 280, and at that of Tortola 303. The manumissions in Barbadoes and Demerara, if they proceeded at the rate of Tortola, where there is no tax, and slaves average £17. 10s. would be 1616 for the former, and 1515 for the latter, instead of 408, and 142.

It is certainly a ground of serious regret, as respects the Colonial department, that notwithstanding numerous representations on the subject, the tax on manumissions should have continued so long without modification or repeal, in the Colonies of Berbice and Demerara, where the crown is the sole legislator, and where nothing was wanting to put an end to the tax but an order of the Secretary of State.

But if it be true that fertility of soil aggravates the evils of slavery, and multiplies the obstacles to enfranchisement, it follows as a corollary that bounties and protecting duties add greatly to its destructive influence; while they serve, *pro tanto*, to counteract the salutary effects of diminished fertility on the mitigation and final extinction of slavery. But at present we can only glance at this part of the subject.

Another remarkable inference which seems deducible from the facts before us, but on which we cannot now enlarge, is this: that the distress of the planter will be found to run parallel with the fertility of the soil he cultivates, and with the consequent high appreciation of his slaves. If we take the four colonies of Demerara, Berbice, Trinidad; and Honduras, where the average value of slaves is the highest, we shall find the proportion of the slaves taken and sold in execution in

five years, to be as high as one in twenty-eight of the slave population; whereas, in the other eight colonies, from which we have Returns of the sales in execution, viz. St. Vincent's, Tortola, Bahamas, Nevis, St. Christopher's, Barbadoes, Dominica, and Grenada, and in which the prices are low, the proportion of slaves, so sold, is only one in sixty; and leaving out St. Vincent's and Tortola, which seem to involve some doubt, it is only one in eighty!

Is there not something in this singular fact, which unavoidably leads the reflecting mind to the presumption that, by the ordinations of a beneficent Providence, the rigorous exaction of servile labour, in despite of all the calculations of a sordid and heartless cupidity, may be expected to issue in the blasted hopes of the oppressor?

#### VI. LIABILITY OF FREE BLACKS AND PERSONS OF COLOUR TO DEPRIVED OF THEIR FREEDOM.

*Barbadoes.* The Deputy Provost Marshal, on the 30th of November, 1825, states, that when slaves are apprehended as runaways, they are confined to the cage; "and after they have been advertised in the public papers for ten days, they are sent to the common gaol and advertised again; and if no owner or claimant should appear, they are, at the expiration of three months, sold to defray expenses, and the surplus paid into the treasury, according to the act of the Island, but the latter very rarely occurs." In the case of persons who are really free, it is of course very unlikely that any owner or claimant should appear; but this absence of claim, instead of being admitted as a proof of their freedom, which is the natural inference to be deduced from it, is made the ground for their being sold for the benefit of the Colonial treasury. The Deputy Provost Marshal adds, that he is "not aware that any slaves so confined ever claimed or established their freedom." Did he ever give himself the trouble to inquire into the facts of their history, before he consigned them to interminable bondage? If he did, let him give us those facts.

*Jamaica.* Many cases occur in this Island in which slaves, apprehended as runaways but claiming to be free, were able to establish the claim to the satisfaction of the magistrates appointed to enquire into the truth of their allegations. The following is a specimen of these cases.

Cuffer, alias James Hannah, alias James Hamilton, was born in St. Mary's, belonged to Mr. Samuel Hannah, who raised him, and took him with him to Scotland. He was there four years and a half as a waiting man with Mr. Hannah, who, having no further occasion for his services, recommended him to Captain Hamilton Maxwell, with whom he remained two years and a half. He then went to Sir Robert Grierson, Rock Hall, Dumfriesshire, and stayed there two years and a half. He afterwards lived for some time in Edinburgh. He then engaged with Captain Simpson, of the ship *Isabella Simpson*, as steward, and arrived in Jamaica, in November 1821, when he was taken up as a runaway. The Justices very properly adjudged that this man was entitled to his freedom.

Many other cases are decided with an equal regard to justice. But in what a fearful predicament is the man placed who thus, without

a crime, or the allegation of a crime, stands exposed, on failing to *prove* himself free, though no one claims him as a slave, to the dreadful alternative of perpetual bondage?

But all are not thus leniently dealt with. Nancy Rider, a girl of sixteen, who appears to have had great personal attractions, was held in trust by a Mr. Johnston. A Mr. King offered to purchase her for his own gratification; but Mr. Johnston, being unable himself to execute a legal deed of manumission, arranged with Mr. King that she should be levied upon for taxes and sold, and that Mr. King should become the purchaser, on an understanding that he was to manumit her after he had thus obtained, from the collector of taxes, a legal title to do so. Nancy accordingly became the property of Mr. King, with whom she lived several years. They then quarrelled, and she, thinking herself free, left him. But Mr. King having omitted to fulfil his promise of legally manumitting her, availed himself of the omission to sell her,—while living openly with her mother to whose home she had returned and with whom she continued for some time to reside,—to a Mr. Hansbrow, who had become fond of her person. She, however, disliking Mr. Hansbrow for a lover, refused to submit to his desires, and asserted her right to freedom, grounded on the original stipulation between Mr. Johnston and Mr. King. Mr. King, on his examination, denied the stipulation, but admitted that he had at one time promised to free her, though he had stipulated no precise time for doing so. Neither he nor Mr. Hansbrow denied the other facts of the case. The decision of three Justices of the Peace, and nine freeholders of the parish of St. Ann's, on this apparently profligate transaction, was, that the claim of Nancy Rider is "frivolous, and not warranted by the circumstances of the case; that she is *legally* the property of Mr. Hansbrow, (he having purchased her of Mr. King, in whom the right of sale was exclusively vested,) and the Court, while it admonishes *her* to be obedient and submissive to, and scrupulously watchful of the interest of her master, as the safest and most likely way of ensuring his protection and kindness, trusts *he* will not permit his future treatment of the woman to be influenced by the occurrences of this day, but bury the same in oblivion." The Court which came to this extraordinary decision is called "a Council of *Protection*."

In the Parish of Westmoreland, on the 21st August, 1821, "John Williams, a negro man, a pretended Curaçoa. No evidence of freedom produced. Sold from workhouse in January."

In the Parish of Port Royal, "Joseph Franks, a black, committed as a runaway 9th October, 1821; sold for payment of fees on 6th March, 1822, having no documents."

In the Parish of St. David, "John Paterson committed on 5th December, 1821. After due investigation he could not produce any document of freedom to the magistrates." He was sold accordingly on the 24th April, 1822.

In the Parish of Manchester, "Eleanor Davison committed July 22d, 1824, being able to produce no document whatever, or to adduce any kind of proof of her freedom, was ordered to be sold according to law."

In the Parish of Clarendon, "Fanny committed May 31st, 1821. Sold out of the workhouse as a slave." "Allick Andrea committed December 27th, 1821. Sold out of the workhouse as a slave."



This opprobrious state of law, where the slightest tinge of black blood is made presumptive proof of Slavery, in the absence of direct and positive testimony of freedom, and which constitutes the State a principal partner in this worst species of Slave Trade, is curiously illustrated by two cases occurring in *Trinidad*. We must reserve the details of these cases, as well as the inferences deducible from them for another opportunity; when we hope also to analyze the very important facts which are given in the same Returns on the subject of population; and which shew that, in what may be called, from its fertility and beauty, the garden of the world, the lives of its inhabitants, made bitter by hard bondage, are wasting at a rate which threatens eventual depopulation, and which converts that smiling land into little better than a charnel house.

### ANTI-SLAVERY PETITION.

A Petition has been presented to Parliament from the Surrey Anti-Slavery Society, which is a model of force and eloquence, and not more distinguished by these qualities than by its truth and justice. We recommend it to universal attention. It sets forth,

"That the population of our West Indian Colonies consists chiefly of Negroes, who are either unoffending foreigners, carried thither by force, or British subjects, born within the King's allegiance; that these unoffending foreigners possess rights under the Law of Nations which England is bound to recognize and uphold, as a civilized state, and for the violation of which, in the persons of other foreigners, a British fleet was sent only a few years since to lay the port of Algiers in ruins; that England on that occasion justly resented the barbarous practice adopted by the Algerines, of converting their enemies taken in war into slaves, as an uncivilized modification of the right assumed by savages of putting the prisoners to death; that British subjects, born within the King's allegiance, and innocent of all crime, cannot be deprived of their civil existence, and reduced to a state of slavery by any power known to the constitution of this country; that such a power necessarily supposes the annihilation of every principle on which the reciprocal claims of allegiance and protection are founded, and at once destroys the basis of the social compact; that such a power, if it could exist, might reduce to slavery all the born subjects of the king, as justly as any particular portion of them; that while in Russia civil death has been awarded as an appropriate punishment for high treason, and in Algiers slavery is substituted for the savage right of taking the life of a captured enemy, in the West Indian dominions of the British Crown unoffending aliens and unoffending British subjects are deprived of their civil existence by thousands, and hundreds of thousands, solely for the emolument of private individuals, who, for that purpose alone, by a monstrous and illegal usurpation, condemn their fellow subjects to a state of irremediable slavery, and extend the dreadful curse to their children, and their children's children; that the claim set up by the West Indian slave-masters to their fellow-subjects, and to helpless strangers, as their property, rests on no better basis than the claim of robbers and receivers to goods which they have stolen, or purchased knowing them to be stolen; that the crime of depriving an innocent man, whether a foreigner or a British subject, of his civil existence, immeasurably exceeds any one of those descriptions of theft for which the punishment of death is usually awarded in this country, as it includes them all; that it is one continued system of daily and hourly robbery, wresting from the miserable victim his natural liberty, his rights as a man, as a husband, as a father, his rights as a British subject by the constitution of his country, or as an innocent foreigner by the Law of Nations; that the crime is nothing less than that of robbing a human being of all his mental and moral energies, of keeping his mind in darkness lest he should become acquainted with his rights, and of reducing him for all civil purposes to the condition of a murdered man; that the West Indian Negro, though born to all the privileges of a British subject, is allowed no inheritance but slavery; that if he attempts to assert his just claims he is consigned to the gallows or the stake as a traitor, on the principle by which pirates put to death those who do not quietly submit to their injustice, and thus natural death is added to civil death, and judicial murder to robbery in its most complicated form; to robbery momentarily repeated through a life of terror, of scourings, and of mental and bodily degradation. The Petitioners beg leave to observe that these are no fancied horrors, but positive and admitted facts, and that they are here speaking of the sufferings of innocent aliens, whose privileges are consecrated by that Law of Nations which England has shed her bravest blood to maintain, and of British subjects born in the King's allegiance, whose rights have the same foundation and are as inalienable as those of every Member of the House; that the Petitioners, regarding the slavery of their fellow subjects in the West Indies as an outrage upon all justice, and sensible of the duty of put-

ting an end, with as little delay as possible, to a system which is pregnant with such complicated evils, confide in the wisdom of the House for the adoption of such measures as may be necessary for the speedy attainment of that desirable object; but at the same time they beg leave respectfully to submit, that there is one measure which, while it is unquestionably safe, would also prove a most efficacious corrective of many of the immediate evils of Colonial Slavery, and might be carried into effect without loss of time; the Petitioners allude to the abrogation of the Bounties and Protecting Duties on Sugar; that these Bounties and Protecting Duties prevent Sugar, now become one of the necessities of life, from being imported from various parts of the world, at a price so much below the Sugar from the West Indies as to make a difference to the British public of one penny per pound, or about one million and a half sterling on the aggregate annual consumption of the people of Great Britain and Ireland; that these Protecting Duties have now been in force twelve years, many of their years of great distress to the agriculturists and manufacturers of this country, during which the West Indian Sugar Farmers have received eighteen millions sterling for their Sugars over and above the price at which Sugars might have been purchased in the markets of England if the West Indian Planter had not been protected from the effects of fair competition; that it is from the forced and unmitigated cultivation of Sugar in the comparatively inferior and exhausted soils of the British West Indian Islands, excited by the hope of high profits, that the sufferings of the Negroes chiefly arise, and that upon the showing of the planters themselves this cruel cultivation is solely kept up by the artificial stimulus of Bounties and Protecting Duties, which impede the Commerce of Great Britain and operate as an oppressive tax on the public; that when the exhaustion of the soils, and the ruinous and expensive system of slave cultivation and of non-residence, prevent the importation of Sugars from the West Indian Islands at the price for which they could be obtained from various parts of the world, the Petitioners humbly conceive that the West Indian Planters have no just claim to Bounties and Protecting Duties to enable them to continue an unimprovident speculation; that the Petitioners humbly submit that the Bounties and protecting Duties on Sugar, for the benefit of a comparatively few individuals, who hold their fellow-subjects in slavery, or, at least, in justice to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of this country, to be continued; that, next to British farming produce, Sugar is the chief article of domestic consumption, and ranks among the necessities of life; that the effect of abrogating the Bounties and protecting Duties on Sugar would be, to transfer the cultivation of that article to the East Indies, and other places where it can be produced by the free labour of native farmers, and at little expense; that this transfer would tend to increase the growth of the proper food of the Negro British subject in the West Indies, diminish his fatigues, his perils, and his sufferings, and, by rapidly increasing the Black population, would so reduce the price of Slaves, and facilitate manumissions, that the Slave system would gradually become extinct, without violence or commotion; that the Petitioners, therefore, on behalf of the thousands of innocent foreigners, and of hundreds of thousands of their fellow-subjects, forcibly held in slavery; on behalf of the people of England, whose rights and liberties are invaded in the persons of innocent Englishmen, denied that justice which ought to be extended with rigid impartiality to the powerful and to the helpless, to the black Colonist as to the white; on behalf of the King, nearly seven hundred thousand of whose natural-born subjects are wrested from the guardianship of His protecting hand within His own Dominions, by those who strip their Sovereign of the attributes of His Crown, and annihilate the civil existence of a portion of His people equal in number to the population of a Principality; on behalf of the consistory and the credit of the Nation, whose cannon so recently swept the ramparts of Algiers, and dealt death to thousands on the African shore, that a barbarous people might be compelled to abstain in future from reducing into Slaves, not the subjects of this country merely, but those of all other European Powers, and to act on principles of which Britain is the public champion, and of which her West Indian slave-owners are as publicly the unpunished and daily violators; on behalf of the suffering manufacturers of England, whose trade with nearly the whole of South America, with Mexico, with Hayti, with China, with New Holland, and above all with India and her one hundred millions of inhabitants, is checked and stunted in its growth, because Protecting Duties and Bounties prevent those Countries from sending to England their Sugars in exchange for the products of British industry, and this in order that the Slave cultivation of the West Indies may be exclusively encouraged; on behalf of every virtue, and of every interest that is dear to Englishmen, the Petitioners implore the House to take into their earliest consideration the repeal of the Protecting Duties and Bounties granted to the cultivators of Sugar by Slave labour; that whatever difficulties the Slave Question may present under other aspects, the people of England may at least be delivered from the bitter consciousness of maintaining by oppression, and unnecessary premiums, a system of iniquity degrading to the national character, criminal beyond all other modes of robbery and violence, subversive of every legal and every constitutional principle, and equally at variance with the dictates of sound policy, humanity, and justice."

*This, and all other publications of the Society, may be had at their office 18, Aldermanbury; or at Messrs. Hatchards, 187, Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill. They may also be procured, through any bookseller, or at the depots of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.*



